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written a pioneer work in American peace literature in that he avoids the stock and conventional methods of approach and the incessantly discussed issues of self-determination, territorial re-arrangement, and construction of the juridical framework of a federation of nations, and he turns to other, newer, and as he believes, more important phases of the peace problem. When these are settled and settled right, then he will be more optimistic about the correct settlement of nations' disputes by appeal to international law and to international enforcement of the same.

What are some of the prior and fundamental issues to be met and solved? Control and purchase of raw materials; sale of goods in foreign lands; sale of credit in foreign lands; export of capital for development in foreign lands by foreign capitalists; access to adequate shipping facilities; and movements of population between countries caused by varying living and working standards. Light on several of these crucial issues has been shed during the war by the enforced, co-operative action of the Allied nations; and so conclusive is the evidence calling for retention in times of peace of many of the international, co-operative economic enterprises and international prohibitory injunctions, that Mr. Tead argues for their permanent adoption, in part because of their marked elimination of waste and their reduction of the cost of living to neutrals and belligerents, and also because of their mollifying effect upon national feuds and the economic rivalries of peoples.

In brief the thesis of the book is, that the more rapidly the world internationalizes its banking, industrial and manufacturing activities on the basis of co-operation the less likelihood there will be of racial, religious, and national feuds continuing to bring about war; and still less likely will there be wars that arise from covetousness of territory, goods, and of peoples who may be exploited economically. It is true that Mr. Tead has an excellent chapter on the "Spiritual Guarantees of Peace," in which he writes as "one on the side of the Angels;" but the book will do its best work among the citizens of any and all countries who still think that self-centered, competition is the economic key to national power and fame. Mr. Tead thinks otherwise, and he does so, be it noted, as a student of the technique of business.

**The Structure of Lasting Peace: An Inquiry into the Motives of War and Peace.** By *Horace Meyer Kallen, Ph. D.* Marshall H. Jones Co., Boston. Pp. 187. \$1.25.

The author of this book is a pragmatist in philosophy, a socialist in his political science, a libertarian and not an authoritarian in his ethics, and he stresses the economic bases of life as do many other men of his years, race, and experiences in the struggle for existence. The academic position he holds at the University of Michigan, the frequency with which he contributes to the *New Republic*, the *Dial*, and the *Nation*—three of the most iconoclastic and least conventional of journals—, and his books are making him a more or less influential person today. Therefore any discussion by him of the topic dealt with in this book has some significance. For he undoubtedly is a typical thinker and writer of a school which is gaining rapidly in prestige among the "intellectuals" of the country. Moreover with shrewd strategy it is getting control of organs of opinion, which, even if they do not reach the many, do shape the ideas and ideals of the influential few.

Summing up the program of this thinker, in his own words, it is as follows: "An international democratic congress, limiting armaments, judging disputes, co-ordinating and harmonizing the great national institutions by means of which men get food and clothing and shelter and health and happiness, making for a free change of all excellence, punishing default with interdict or excommunication or war, resting its authority upon public opinion and strengthening it by internationalized education." When the author of this thought-provoking and fervidly written book is older and has read more history he will gird less than he does now at statesmen, priests, diplomats, and other representatives of an honorable past and a respectable present. Indeed in his saner moments he writes as discriminately as one could wish, and as a man who has read history with some purpose, for, to illustrate, he says (p. 136) that between 1776 and 1787 "the thirteen independent and sovereign States that underwent

the American Revolution were in precisely the same position and confronted precisely the same problems, in principle, as the present States and governments," assembled in Paris to federate the world, do. To the American example he would have Europe, led by President Wilson, turn. And why? Because, as he says, "They won through to a combination of interstate unity with State sovereignty from which we benefit today. And all that amounts to is the equality of States before interstate law. There is far less reason why the peoples and States concerned in the present war should not win through, and by methods analogous or the same, to an analogous end."

**James Madison's Notes of Debates in the Federal Convention of 1787, and their Relation to a More Perfect Society of Nations.** By *James Brown Scott, President of the American Institute of International Law.* Oxford University Press, New York City. Pp. 99 with appendix.

In 1787 Dr. Benjamin Franklin, writing to a correspondent in Europe relative to the convention that framed the Constitution of the United States, in which convention he was a prominent figure, said: "If it succeeds I do not see why you might not in Europe carry the project of Good Henry the 4th into execution, by forming a Federal Union and One Grand Republic of all its different States and Kingdoms by means of a like Convention; for we had many interests to reconcile."

The Conference of Nations assembled in Paris at the present hour is one that, if wisely controlled by sagacious men who are willing to follow the course of compromise and pragmatism followed by the makers of the American republic's Constitution, may bring into being a society of nations on the federal plan like unto that foreseen and desired by Franklin.

The merit of this book by Mr. Scott is that he singles out from Madison's unique and priceless report of the making of the Constitution and from subsequent decisions of Federal and State courts interpreting the Constitution, precisely those facts and those dicta which will prove serviceable at Paris to any statesmen and peace commissioners who may seriously consider casting their influence in favor of a society of nations. From the records Mr. Scott shows how skillfully and, as events have proved, how permanently provision was made in 1787 for reconciling the not unnatural rival claims of the large and the small States; how carefully the provision respecting federal sovereignty over the claim of State was framed in order to facilitate equity between the States and make final and effective a decision of the federal tribunal without resort to force or war; and how soon and sensibly a way was found to make justiciable even political questions arising between States.

Inasmuch as these are assumed to be and, in fact, are precisely the gravest obstacles that jurists and commissioners will face at Paris in constructing the framework of any federalized society of nations, it requires no further statement here to indicate the timeliness of this monograph. It will aid any person who directly or indirectly may shape the outcome of the negotiations at Paris or ratification of the same in countries—as in the United States—where the work of the makers of national or international compacts has to win formal approval of the people's representatives in the Senate. No one can read this record of the service rendered by Madison as a constructive statesman and as a satisfying reporter of the highest form of statecraft, without recalling the fact that he was a Virginian and a Princeton graduate like unto Woodrow Wilson whose personality, ideas and ideals are to be so influential at the Paris Conference.

**Woodrow Wilson: An Interpretation.** By *A. Maurice Low.* Little, Brown & Co., Boston. Pp. 291. \$2.00 net.

The author of this book has long been stationed in Washington as a journalist dealing with national and international politics. He has seen presidents come and go and parties rise and fall and rise again. To his output as a journalist he has added at least two books indicating that, as an Englishman, he has made thorough study of the psychology, spiritual and ethical ideals and political methods of the people of the United States. Such being the case, it is not at all surprising that this "interpretation" of a man who

now bulks larger nationally and internationally than any other American, should be an excellent piece of craftsmanship, judged by standards of literary technique. It has a good style. The material has been well assimilated. Attention is not diverted from the text by a bothering clutter of footnotes and quotations. The plan followed is cumulative. There is no anti-climax. So much for the book's form. As to its verdict, admirers of the President will find in the book confirmation of their belief and light shed on phases of Mr. Wilson's career which must have come from pretty near the White House, if not from the President himself. Critics of the President will discount much of the "interpretation" as too eulogistic; and lacking in perspective and the judicial quality. But even they will have to admit the ability of the special pleading, if such it be. The impartial critic must admit that it is by far the best "study" of the President that has been written. Author and publisher have chosen the "psychological moment" for issuing the book, which, whether published abroad in its original form or in translations, is bound to have a wide reading, so universal is the interest of "the people" of the world in the head of the world's largest republic and in the protagonist of a federation of nations to make war forever improbable if not impossible.

**A League of Nations.** By *Edith M. Phelps*. The H. W. Wilson Company, New York City. Pp. 256. \$1.25.

This compilation is another of the very serviceable handbooks issued by this company, all of which deal with contemporary problems and furnish to journalists, debaters, lawmakers, and intelligent citizens admirable compendiums of the best opinions for and against measures that loom large in the public eye and about which there is need of light from more than one source. Prefaced by an accurate and clear résumé of the evolution of the ideal of a federation of nations, against which historical background the reader may place the facts of the present hour, the body of the book gives to a purchaser enough of the formal and informal discussion of the topic by leading American, French, and British champions and opponents of the plan to make it possible for him or her to take sides intelligently.

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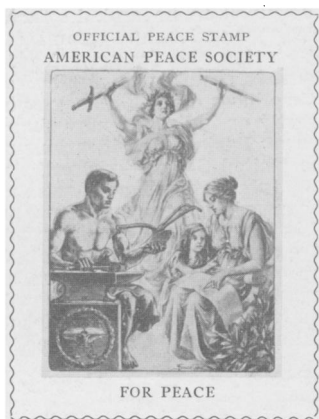
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